

THE EARLY-MEDIEVAL PHASE OF THE EPISCOPAL COMPLEX IN ZADAR

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The episcopal complex in Zadar has buildings dating from several historical periods. In this article the author describes those of early-medieval times, and connects them with social and cultural relations in Dalmatia during the eighth and ninth centuries. An especially interesting feature of the complex is the rotunda of the Holy Trinity (St Donatus), a residential chapel that emerged from two architectural concepts. Its building was part of extensive reconstruction work: a new wing was added to the bishop's palace, a new cistern was built in the old diaconicon on the other side of the cathedral, the cathedral presbytery, the site of the first crypt or confessio, was reconstructed, and pastophories were built flanking the apses.

Building of the episcopal complex in Zadar started in classical times at the edge of the Roman Forum.¹ In the fifth century it became a developed Christian centre with a large basilica, diaconicon, baptistery, catechumeneum, bishop's palace, and the accompanying rooms. The structure destroyed the entirety of the *forum* and surrounding architecture, but itself became a new *insula* in the *matrix* of the old city. In both disposition and internal distribution of elements, it followed the grid of city streets and the network of walls and cells of the framework out of which it grew. Its buildings thus follow the orthogonal architectural order around which Roman Zadar

itself had earlier been built. Episcopal complexes developed in a similar manner in many other classical towns² but unlike many that were built outside urban centres, the Zadar one was constructed almost in the very centre of the city, on the edge of the forum, some of whose structures were used in the walls and buildings.³ This makes it an especially interesting feature of the late-Roman Christian heritage. Some individual parts deserve special mention: the original shape of the baptistery beside the cathedral⁴, the rare type of presbytery inside it⁵, and the fact that the sacristy beside the cathedral is in reality a fifth-century Early-Christian catechumeneum.⁶ We will not describe all this in detail here. Enough to say that it existed, and that this completely formed Early-Christian complex obtained a new dimension in the early Middle Ages. This was not a case of one complex being pulled down to make room for another, but rather the interpolation of new elements in the old structure. New buildings were added to old ones, their shape and purpose supplementing the purpose of the earlier whole and testifying to new cultural and historical reality in this town at the end of antiquity. Even this new phase had its own strata, reflecting development in the pre-Romanesque period. Two early steps are well-expressed in the complex: one linked with Frankish cultural influence and dating from the second half of the eighth century; another from the first half of the ninth century reflecting Byzantine cultural currents on the Adriatic coast on the eve of the Middle Ages. The architecture and sculptures in the complex reflect these two influences, although we must also bear in mind the recognizable influence of the local architectural and art tradition.

The most representative structure of this complex is certainly the rotunda of the Holy Trinity, a fine example of pre-Romanesque architecture, one of the peaks of early-medieval European building. It is not widely known that what is today a single building developed by combining two concepts and approaches to the construction of the residential chapel of the Zadar bishop.⁷ The rotunda is not attached to the basilica and its annexes, its main entrance faces the bishop's palace; later

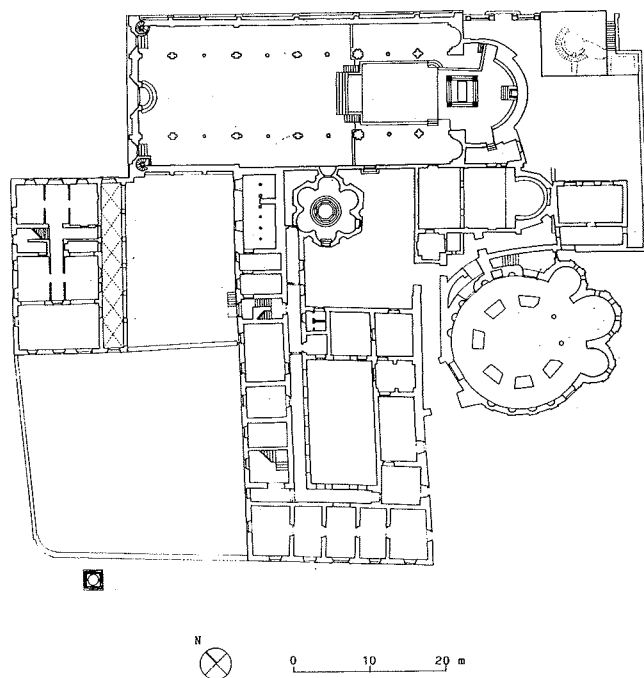


Fig. 1. Episcopal complex - today

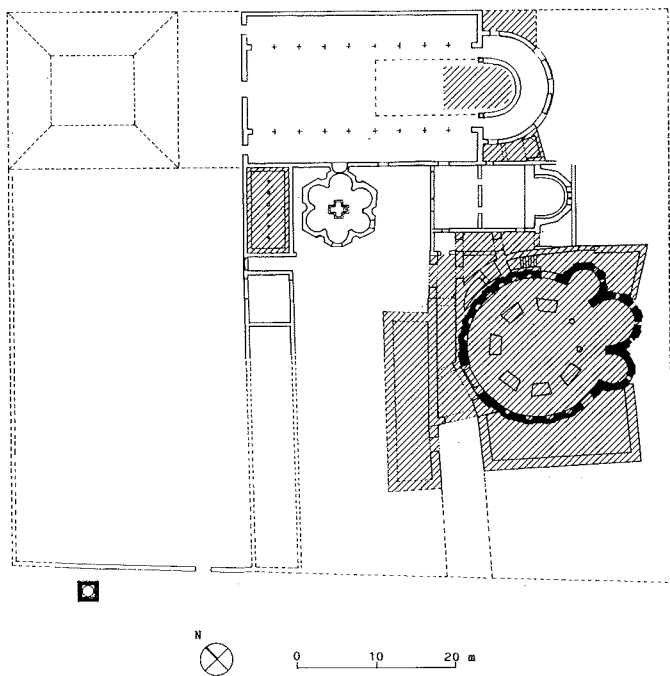


Fig. 2. Episcopal complex - construction zones, 8th and 9th c.

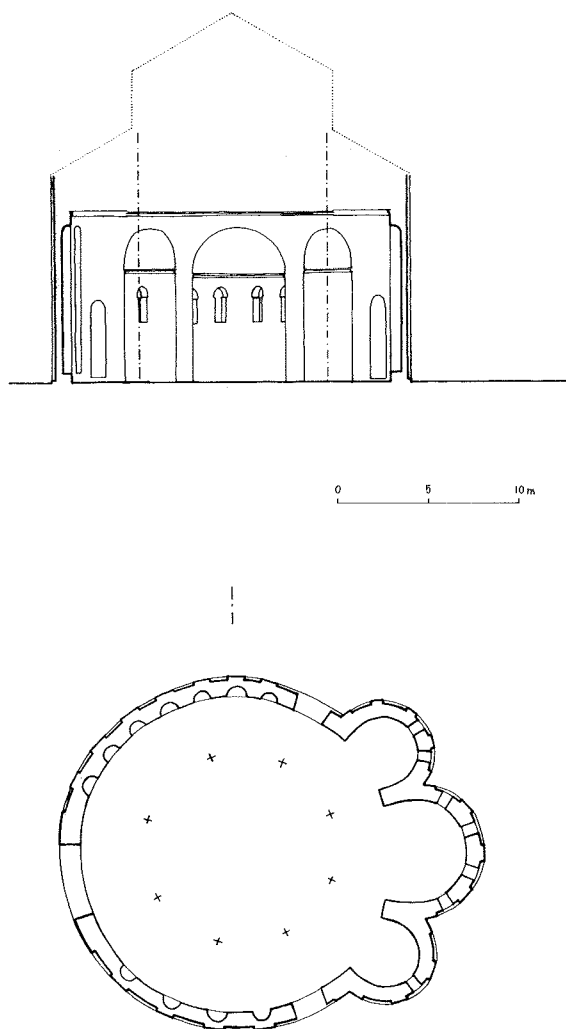


Fig. 3. Rotunda of the Holy Trinity - ground plan and section, 8th c.

it was physically linked with the palace and they became a specific whole both spatially and in purpose.

Originally the chapel was designed as a free-standing rotunda with a round nucleus and a circular aisle (*deambulatorium*), with three radially placed apses grouped on the east side. The building has a circular perimetric wall with a row of niches running up its full height on the inside, and rows of rectangular lesenes on the outside. There are also lesenes on the outside of the semicircular, horseshoe-shaped apses. The main door faces the sanctuary, the side doors are to the left and right. The position of the doors in the ground plan of the building forms an equilateral triangle inscribed into the circle formed by the chapel. Like the triangle, the three apses grouped on the east side of the chapel also reflect Trinity symbolism⁸. The inner ring has unfortunately not been preserved. We can only suppose that it was formed by a row of eight marble columns. Modest remains still exist of the row of eight stone beams above them, which linked the two rings into a single static whole under the roof. They can be found in the structure of the building, a witness of the original structural system, and have nothing to do with the later design. The eight columns were later found in secondary use, in the new architectural and static system of the building, as were other parts of the rotunda's original construction material. The change that came when the chapel was built as a complex rotunda was so radical and extensive that it is impossible to tell today whether the original design was ever completed. There are no material remains to confirm or deny this, but it is certain that the new concept of construction came quite soon, surrounding the original chapel on all sides with annexes and making it the nucleus in the centre of a much more complex structure.

In that new building, which arose from a different concept of a palace chapel, the circular space of the original rotunda and its sanctuary continued to be most important liturgically and architecturally, but a new component was added in the form of a gallery, catechumeneum or *καθηκομενων*, as Constantine Porphyrogenitus called in the tenth century in his book *De administrando Imperio*.⁹ The annexes around the nucleus are functionally linked with the gallery: the top floor of the narthex in front of the chapel is in fact the gallery antehall, it is reached up a winding staircase, *κοζλιον*, and the south and north annexes are extensions of the gallery, probably a private oratory or maybe a place from which the emperor's representative in Zadar could attend certain liturgical ceremonies.¹⁰ This whole new spatial arrangement was followed by a new structural system in the building itself. The lesenes on the outer side of the original perimetric wall were drowned in a mass of added walls and areas, and the inside niches were walled up. A new ring was built on the site of the original internal ring, formed by two monolithic marble columns in front of the sanctuary and six massive masonry piers around the nucleus. They are interconnected by round arches. A circular barrel vault rests on the arches and on the perimetric wall, carrying the gallery above the circular ambulatory. The distribution of the piers, columns and arches on the gallery, and its sanctuary formed by three vaulted apses, completely matches the architecture of those elements in the lower part of the building. On the south and north sides two double exits, with a column in the middle of each, link the gallery ring with its extensions. In the east a kind of antehall was annexed to the chapel in front of the staircase, with a door leading through the perimetric wall to the back of the cathedral. In the west the narthex adjoins the east wing of the bishop's palace. It was built in the early Middle Ages, when the rotunda was redesigned following the new concept and when the whole epis-

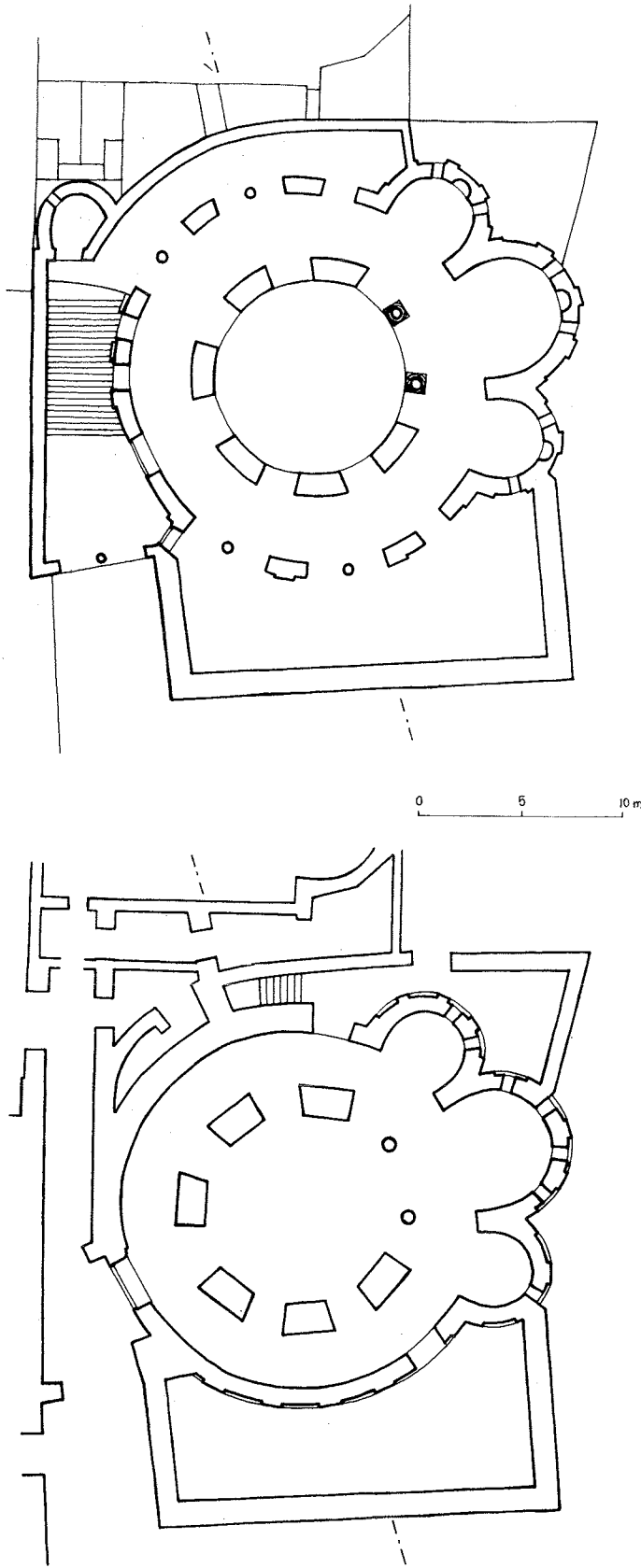


Fig. 4. Rotunda of the Holy Trinity - ground plan of first and second level, 9th c.

copal complex was reconstructed. Right in front of the chapel, its narthex, is a door leading from the palace to the chapel. There is another even more direct link between them. It was made on the first-floor level of the palace where a door leads to the mezzanine of the chapel, to the landing between two forks of the staircase. Thus the rotunda became part of the bishop's palace, closely linked with the specific liturgical and ceremonial functions of the residence whose chapel it was.¹¹

It is important to emphasize that the construction of the gallery floor, i.e. the wooden bearing structure of that floor, forms the line of demarcation between the first and the second phase of the building, the level where the free-standing rotunda can be distinguished from the rotunda as part of the episcopal complex (i.e. one concept of building this chapel from the other). It is made of beams that had been intended as roof rafters, obviously for the original rotunda. Their fronts are decorated with notched geometrical and plant ornaments, obviously to adorn the exposed eaves for which they had been made. Stylistic analysis of the ornaments dates them to the second half of the eighth century¹²; and so does the radiocarbon dating of the wood, which indicates the year 750 with a tolerance of plus or minus 20 years.¹³ These beams became

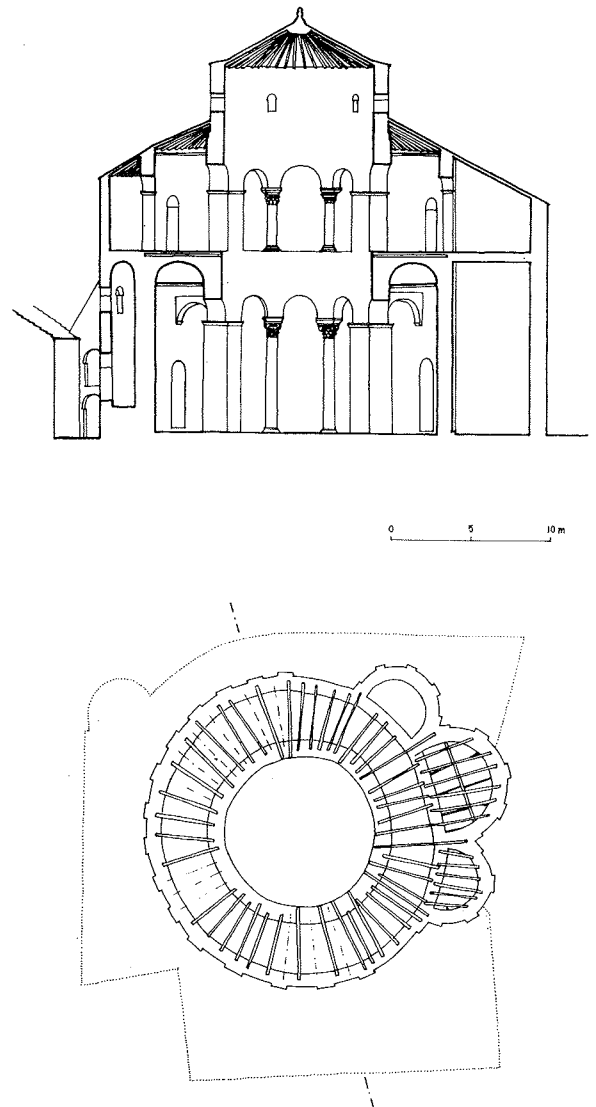


Fig. 6. Rotunda of the Holy Trinity - ground plan of bearing structure of gallery floor and section of chapel, 9th c.

construction material in the gallery floor in the second phase, and the decorated parts were placed in the thickness of the wall to support them. They were not subsequently wedged into already-existing walls but were placed there before there was any wall above them. They enter deep in the wall, almost across its whole thickness; up to two metres deep in the wall between the main and side apses. This would be impossible to achieve if they had been wedged into existing walls, it was only possible by building walls over beams that were already in place. This means that no gallery existed at that time! The level of the gallery bearing structure is the highest physically preserved point of the rotunda as a free-standing building. Everything above that level was part of the later complex rotunda with a new spatial arrangement and a new static system, formed by the strong structure of piers and arches in the nucleus of the church, and the annexes around it. The link between them is the gallery resting on a vault that goes right around the building. Under the vault were built saving arches resting on the piers under the gallery and on the circular perimetric rotunda wall. They were made when the niches in the wall had already been filled in, when the wall was just a circular surface without any elements to divide it. The impost of some of those arches is wedged in the walled-in niches. Thus they, and the piers they rest on, were not part of the free-standing rotunda nor of its wall with rows of niches and lesenes, but of the complex building in which these were walled in. The gallery is carried by the piers under it and thus is, obviously, part of the new concept of the rotunda as a complex building. The chapel and the annexes that are a functional part of it are linked through the gallery. The new areas were not the result of the subsequent construction of doors or passages, but of building walls, i.e. the gallery and its annexes. The distribution of all the openings that link them resulted from a well-considered plan, a design in which a rotunda was built as a complex structure surrounding and hiding the circular shell of the original chapel.¹⁴

Important structural changes also took place on the other side of the episcopal complex, adjoining the cathedral. A cistern was built on the site of the earlier diaconicon and within its walls. New walls were interpolated adjacent to the inside of the old walls, columns were placed between them to carry two longitudinal barrel vaults. The floor and the walls were coated with red hydrophobic plaster. The floor slopes gently to a stone urn, a receptacle at the lowest point of the cistern. The columns in it and the architraves between them, on which the stone vaults rest, are Roman. One of them has a carved inscription mentioning the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate. As a whole, the cistern is a very well-preserved and valuable part of the heritage, rare testimony of an early-medieval utilitarian structure within an episcopal complex.¹⁵

However, when the cistern was built in the old diaconicon the need arose to build new pastophories, now flanking the cathedral apse. The north prothesis is only known from documents from the last century, shown on a ground plan of the basilica made in 1864.¹⁶ The *diaconicon* flanking the south wall still stands. It is a small rectangular space between the cathedral apse and the sacristy beside it, the former *catechumenaeum*. Two bays in the *diaconicon* have a barrel vault strengthened by flat underlying ribs, the third has a semi-dome resting on corner squinches.

The construction of these pastophories seems to have been closely linked with the extensive early-medieval reconstruction of the cathedral presbytery. Traces of the substructure in the wall of the present crypt indicate an older crypt or *confessio* under the sanctuary; and fragments of church furniture, remains of stone chancel screens, pilasters, beams, gables and

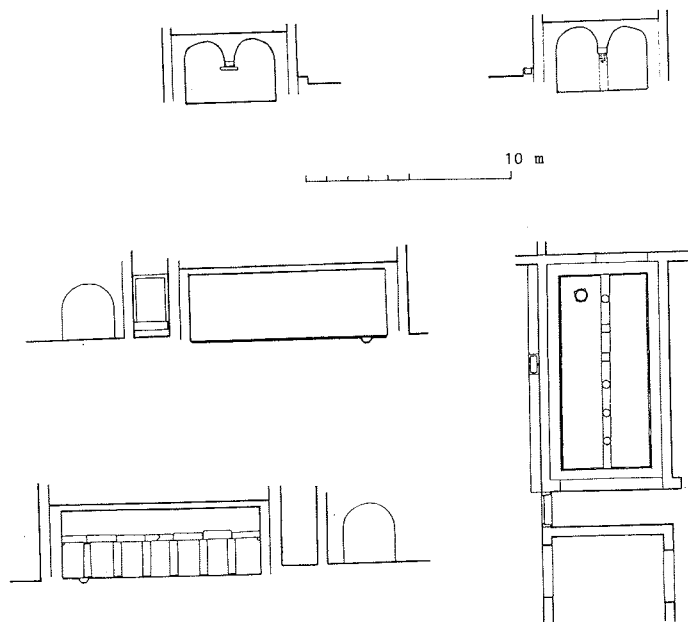


Fig. 7. Early-medieval cistern - ground plan and sections, 9th c.

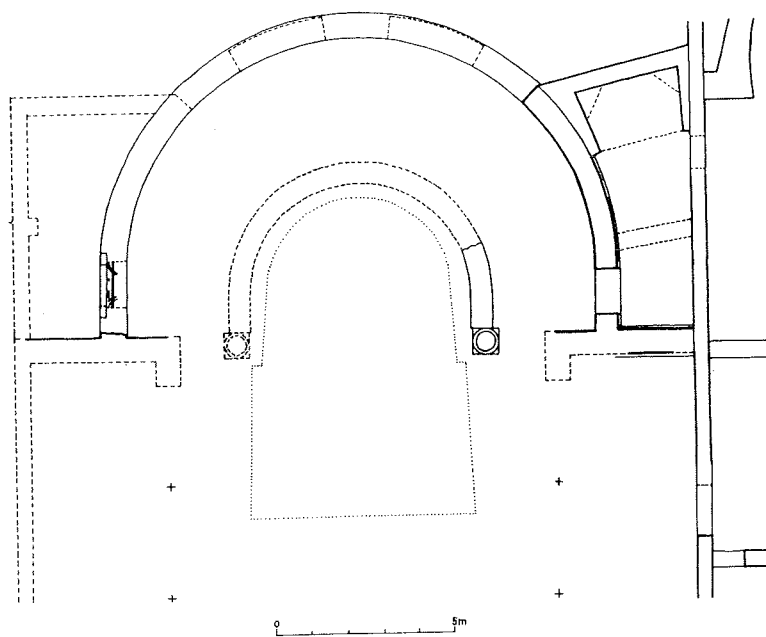


Fig. 8. Cathedral presbytery - ground plan, 9th c.

ambos indicate a pre-Romanesque sanctuary with a rich altar screen and other parts of liturgical furniture.¹⁷

Stylistically the inventory indicates two early phases of pre-Romanesque art in Zadar. Parts of the ambo with symbols of the evangelists, and fragments of a chancel screen with animal figures and a horseman; also some other fragments in the style of that early period discovered during recent conservation research and work in the cathedral complex, are from the first period, which should be dated to the second half of the eighth century.¹⁸ Parts of the wood and stone architectural details in the rotunda of the Holy Trinity should also be added to this group. The timber and stone beams linked by the same or very similar ornaments are especially important,

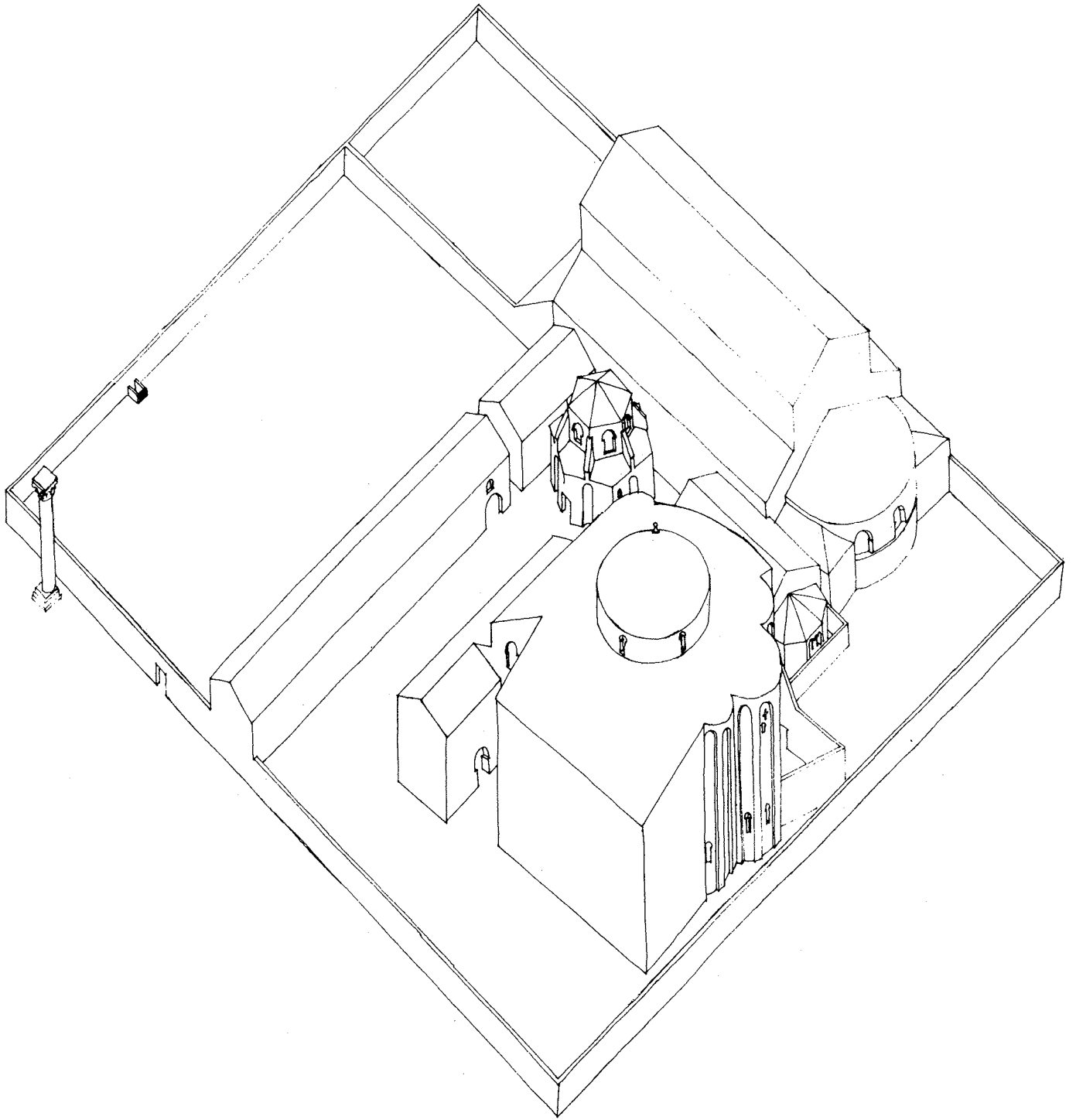


Fig. 11. Episcopal complex - axonometry, 9th c.

particularly a vine with birds. This motif is repeated on one of the stone pateras under the vault of the rotunda gallery. The others have several variants of perforated lilies. The fragment of a chancel screen with the relief of a curtain also belongs to this early period¹⁹, and so do many other lapidae that are yet to be stylistically analyzed and researched.

Some of these works of art are closely linked with the eighth-century Aquileian circle. Most of all the cathedral ambo with symbols of the evangelists, artistically close to Sigwald's chancel screen and reliefs from the baptistery in Cividale.²⁰ This shows that links existed with the Frankish cultural circle, which can to a certain extent be recognized in the original spatial plan of the chapel of the Holy Trinity. In some elements (distribution of doors and the group of three apses) it is similar to St Sophia's in Benevento, an eighth-century rotunda built as the court chapel of the Duke of Arechio.²¹ Other buildings with which certain parallels are possible are Saint' Angelo in Perugia (7th-8th c.)²², the baptisteries in Nocera²³ and Torcello (7th c.)²⁴, and the rotunda in Trier (9th c.)²⁵

The eighth-century certainly had a recognizable and important cultural and historical impact on this episcopal complex. It was immediately followed by a new one whose style indicates both Byzantine and Carolingian cultural links. Some stone lapidae with Byzantine elements in the cathedral have interlaced ornamentation with three bands, the middle one being wider than the side ones. They should probably be connected with the time of Bishop Donatus, perhaps with the altar screen of whose stone beam several fragments remain. To the best of our knowledge, the formula: *DONATVS PECCATVR EPISCOPVS FECIT* was repeated on it three times.²⁶ The same formula is found among inscriptions on the marble reliquary with the ashes of St Anastasia²⁷, relics Bishop Donatus brought to Zadar from Constantinople after diplomatic missions in Aachen and Constantinople, it seems in about 800.²⁸ The relics of the three holy sisters, the Salonika martyrs Irene, Chione and Agape, whose cult was honoured in the Zadar cathedral, may also be explained in connection with this mission.²⁹ The original crypt or *confessio* in the basilica sanctuary must have been made in connection with the new hagiography, which we saw is Byzantine in origin. With it came a general reconstruction of the presbytery and the construction of the pastophories at the back of the cathedral. The old sanctuary thus got new liturgical functions.³⁰ These also testify to the reconstruction of the whole episcopal complex, probably modelled on similar structures in major Byzantine centres as a response to the strengthening of Byzantine power in Zadar during the ninth century.³¹ Just as the cathedral presbytery indicates a new liturgical development, which needed a new spatial solution in the sanctuary and around it, so the gallery in the rotunda indicates new and complex functions for the bishop's chapel - now directly linked with the palace. The rotunda and gallery got a spatial arrangement similar to that in the church of SS Sergius and Bachus in Constantinople or San Vitale in Ravenna; and the Aachen chapel was also built on the same model. All these are palatine chapels built as part of a residential structure. But unlike the others, which were made following a single design right from the beginning, the Zadar rotunda was made by adapting one design into another, one chapel into another.

This second design is generally interpreted as arising out of new cultural and historical circumstances in Dalmatia following the strengthening of Byzantine power in the ninth century and the need for a representative building in Zadar³². Its details, particularly the shape of the new structures, show links between this environment and contemporary Carolingian art. The robust shapes of its piers and arches, its whole internal

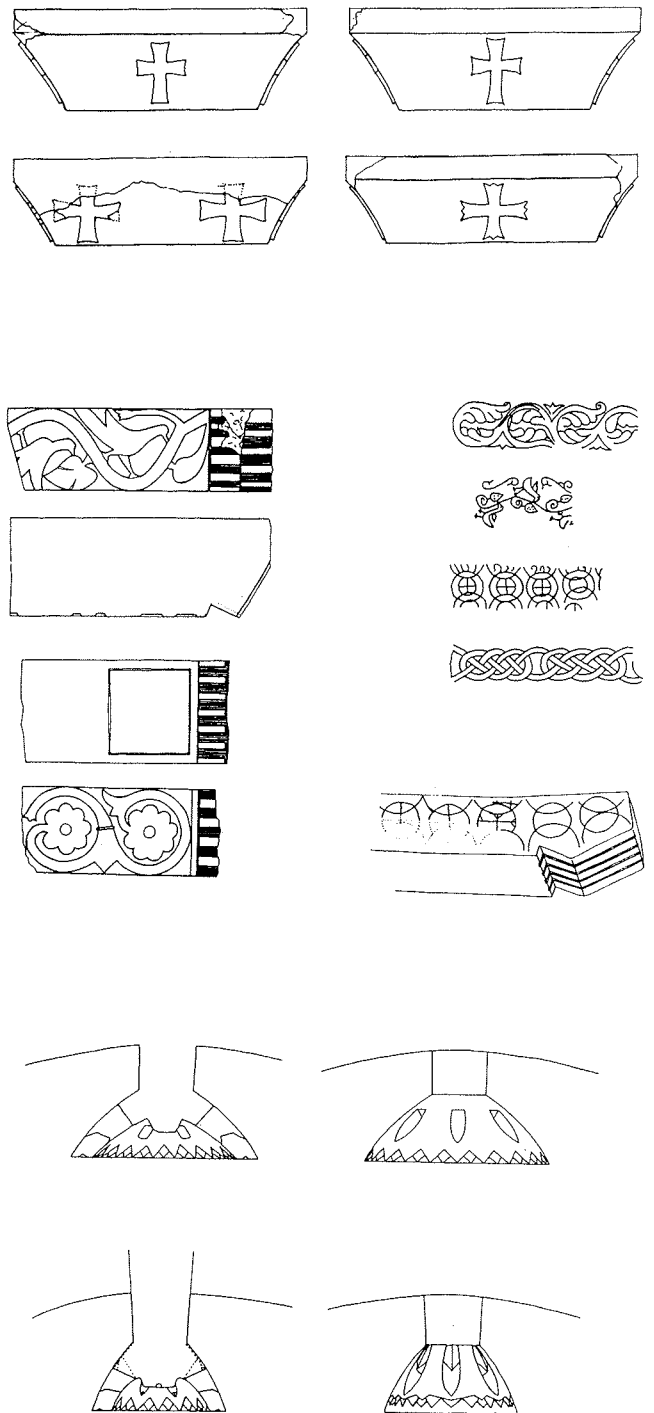


Fig. 9. Rotunda of the Holy Trinity - selection of architectural details in wood and stone, 8th c.

arrangement, its simplicity, are closer to the interior of Carolingian than of Byzantine churches. They have a similar "closed" relationship in the ratio of full and empty areas on the perforated curved surface of the inner ring. This differs from the airy wide-open shells in similar Byzantine structures. It is also especially important that the piers and columns in the Zadar rotunda are distributed to form a circle, forming a cylinder and not a cusped shell typical of eastern churches. Many rotundas with galleries, based on the model of the double shell, have an inner space arranged around a cusped plan formed by elegant columns carrying semi-domes. Classical examples are in Constantinople - St Sophia's and SS Sergius

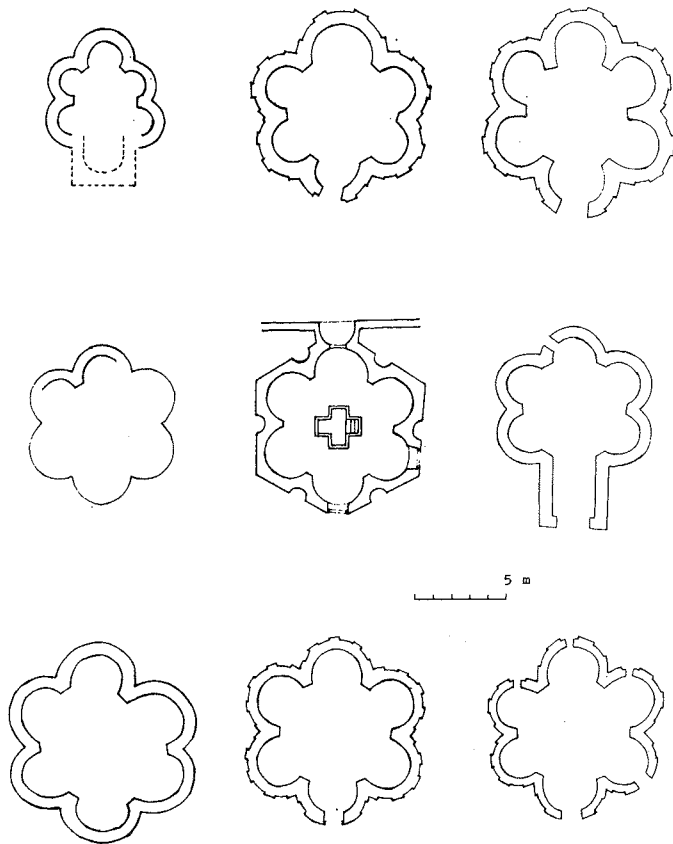


Fig. 12. Comparative ground plans of Dalmatian sexafoils and the Zadar baptistery: Škabrnja - St Mary's; Pridraga - St Michael's; Kašić - Sexafoil; Bribir - Sexafoil; Zadar - Baptistery; Zadar - St Mary's; Brnaze - St Michael's; Trogir - St Mary's; Split - Holy Trinity.

and Bachus; in Ravenna - San Vitale; in Bosra - the cathedral; in Rsaft - the Tetraconch, and so on. But in spatial arrangement and construction all of them differ from the elementary form of the Zadar rotunda. It has no characteristic Byzantine capitals, impostos, or any stone architectural details belonging to that style. Thus the church of the Holy Trinity in Zadar remains an isolated structure even among the possible "analogies", in spite of the fact that its reconstruction from one concept to another was obviously inspired by the arrangement of similar central structures with a gallery, and specific liturgical functions and ceremonies.

In this rotunda, as in the whole episcopal complex in Zadar, architectural forms of East and West mingled during the early Middle Ages. They illustrate the specific social and cultural relations in the second half of the eighth century, when Byzantine power was subsiding on the Adriatic coast, when it lost its stronghold in Ravenna, and when Frankish interests and influence were becoming stronger in Istria and Dalmatia. It was then that the city commune and its Church grew stronger in Zadar, a situation which probably accounted for the appearance of stone church furniture of Frankish influence and the construction of the residential chapel as a free-standing rotunda in the episcopal complex. And then, in the first half of the ninth century, Byzantine power emerged again in Dalmatian cities, and was concentrated in Zadar. The municipality and the town Church continued to grow stronger. Their representatives, Dux Paul and Bishop Donatus, represented Dalmatian cities in a diplomatic mission at Charlemagne's court, and Bishop Donatus later also in Constantinople at the court of Nicephorus I. The Aachen Peace Treaty reconfirmed Byzantine primacy on the Adriatic. The Dalmatian cities were linked into a common province, a theme, whose capital was

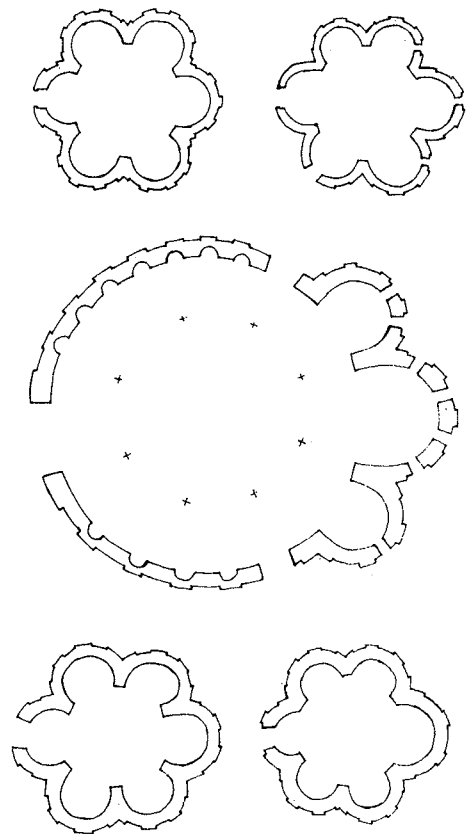


Fig. 13. Comparative ground plans of the rotunda of the Holy Trinity and Dalmatian sexafoils: Trogir - St Mary's; Split - Holy Trinity; Zadar - Holy Trinity; Kašić - Sexafoil; Pridraga - St Michael's.

Zadar.³³ These new circumstances were probably reflected in the episcopal complex by its complete reconstruction and enlargement; new phases in the buildings reflected the functions and cults in this region. The time of this reconstruction may be linked with the administration of Bishop Donatus and his importance at this time. He was Bishop of Zadar from 801 to 850³⁴, participated in the diplomatic missions mentioned, brought to Zadar the relics of St Anastasia (Sv. Stošija), and perhaps also those of the three Salonika martyrs, and remained a legend in the memory of the citizens, a local saint and town patron, and finally, the builder of the rotunda that was later even called by his name - St Donatus' church.³⁵

Finally, perhaps a deviation from the subject, we should point out the influence the architecture of this episcopal complex had on church architecture in the Byzantine theme and in the Croatian Principality in Dalmatia in the early Middle Ages. At that time Zadar was the provincial metropolis of the Byzantine theme on the Adriatic, unquestionably the most important cultural centre in the neighbourhood of the Croatian state. It is natural that such a centre should radiate culture and art throughout a relatively wide area along the Dalmatian coast and in the hinterland, and that the seat of what was then the most important city Church in this region should emanate strong lines of force. There was an Early-Christian baptistery in Zadar, a building of specific shape and size that obviously became a kind of prototype for a whole group of Dalmatian sexafoils. In shape and dimensions they were simply pre-Romanesque replicas of this Early-Christian baptistery, of its inner shape and size.³⁶ It had six round apses around a circular nucleus above which rises a drum carrying a vault. Externally, regardless of the difference in size, the sexafoils are reminiscent of the structure of the rotunda of the Holy Trinity. Three

apses grouped on their east side form the church sanctuary. On the outside the buildings are usually rounded, the curved wall of some of the sexafoils divided by shallow lesenes, like those on the Zadar rotunda. Therefore, the Early-Christian and pre-Romanesque architectural language of this episcopal complex was in the early Middle Ages to a certain extent used as a model for building central buildings in Dalmatia. Sexafoils, as we have seen, are typologically and morphologically very simi-

lar to the baptistery and rotunda in Zadar. If we add similarities in specific examples of pre-Romanesque stone architectural details in Zadar and in the wider Zadar region, it may be assumed that there was a productive architectural studio and carving workshop in this city in the early Middle Ages, greatly inspired by the works of art in the episcopal complex.

Translation: Nikolina Jovanović

¹ P. VEŽIĆ, "Zadar na pragu kršćanstva" (Zadar on the Threshold of Christianity), *Diadora*, vol. 15, Zadar 1993 (in print).

² G. CANTINO WATAGHIN, "Urbanistica tardoantica e topografia cristiana: termini di un problema, Felix temporis reparato", *Atti del Convegno archeologico internazionale: Milano capitale dell'Impero romano*, Milan 1992, p. 171 (the article is accompanied by extensive bibliographical material on the location of Christian centres in Roman cities).

³ P. VEŽIĆ, "Starokršćanski sloj katedrale u Zadru" (The Early-Christian Phase of Zadar Cathedral), *Diadora*, vol. 10, Zadar 1988, p. 168 (I treated the problem in more detail in my doctor's thesis entitled *Episkopalni kompleks u Zadru* /The Episcopal Complex in Zadar/, defended at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar in 1994).

⁴ Č.M. IVEKOVIĆ, "Krstionica kod Stolne crkve Sv. Stošije u Zadru i vrijeme gradjenja njezina i crkve St. Donata" (The Baptistery beside the Cathedral of St Anastasia in Zadar and the Time of its Construction, and that of St Donatus' Church), *Rad JAZU*, book 258, Zagreb 1937.; I. PETRICIOLI, "Contribution à la recherche de la plus ancienne phase de construction de la cathédrale de Zadar (Disputationes salonitanae II)", *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, vol. 77, Split 1984, p. 243.; P. VEŽIĆ, "Krstionica u Zadru" (The Baptistery in Zadar), *Peristil*, vol. 34, Zagreb 1991, p. 13.

⁵ This refers to the very wide apse, whose internal diameter exceeds the width of the basilica nave. (See, P. VEŽIĆ, "Prilog poznavanju tipoloških osobina starokršćanskih bazilika u Dalmaciji" /A Contribution to the Typology of Early-Christian Basilicas in Dalmatia/, *Rapski zbornik*, Zagreb 1986, p. 297; *IBID.*, "Starokršćanska arhitektura u Zadru i na zadarskom području" /Early-Christian Architecture in Zadar and in the Zadar Region/, *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske*, vol. 12, Zagreb 1986, p. 161).

⁶ P. VEŽIĆ, "Rezultati istraživanja u prostoru sakristije do katedrale u Zadru" (Results of Research in the Sacristy Adjoining Zadar Cathedral), *Diadora*, vol. 12, Zadar 1990, p. 304.

⁷ P. VEŽIĆ, *Rotonda Sv. Trojstva (Sv. Donata) u Zadru* (The Rotunda of the Holy Trinity /St Donatus/ in Zadar), *Mala biblioteka Godišnjaka zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske*, Zagreb 1985, p. 18.

⁸ *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva* (Lexicon of Iconography, Liturgy and Symbolism of Western Christianity), Zagreb 1979, p. 572.

⁹ M. SUIĆ, "Zadar u 'De administrando Imperio' Konstantina Porfirogenita" (Zadar in De administrando Imperio by Constantine Porphyrogenitus), *Radovi Zavoda JAZU u Zadru*, vol. 27-28, Zadar 1981, p. 7.

¹⁰ I addressed the problem of the purpose of the Holy Trinity rotunda in more detail in my master's thesis, *Rotonda Sv. Trojstva u prostoru episkopnog kompleksa u Zadru* (The Rotunda of the Holy Trinity in the Episcopal Complex in Zadar), defended at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar in 1992. There I emphasized the importance of studying original historical documents about the church, showing what its gallery was called in the past. In the seventeenth century the Zadar historian Valerio de Ponte called the upper floor of the rotunda "congregatio oratorii". (See D. FARIATTI, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 5, Venice 1775, p. 17) The list of parishes and churches in the Zadar Diocese by Archbishop M. Karaman, from the eighteenth century, says: "S. Donato, ed Oratorio". (See, Naučna biblioteka u Zadru, manuscripts, Ms. 393, p. 23) In the nineteenth century C.F. Bianchi says the gallery was called "col titolo di Oratorio di S. Donato". (See, C.F. BIANCHI, *Zara cristiana*, vol. 1, Zadar 1877, p. 387) At the time when De administrando Imperio was written, as R. Janin says, a catechumenium was the same as a gynaicon, the place where women stood during church rites. (See, R. JANIN, "La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire Byzantin" Le site de Constantinople et la patriarcat ecumenique, vol. 3, Paris 1953, p. 473) C. Mango also indicates this function. (See, C. MANGO, *Architettura Bizantina*, Venice 1974, p. 39; it may also be found in *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, vol. 5, Graz 1954, p. 1350) Still, T.F. Mathews described the function of the gallery in Byzantine architecture and the meaning of the term catechumenium in most detail. (See, T.F. MATHEWS, *The Early Churches of Constantinople... Applying those data to a quotation from DA1, the expression: Ta katechoumena was especially treated by J. JELIČIĆ RADONIĆ, "Ta katechoumena crkve Sv. Trojice (Sv. Donata) u Zadru" /Ta katechoumena of the Church of the Holy Trinity /St Donatus/ in Zadar), *Diadora*, vol. 14, Zadar 1992, p. 345, unfortunately drawing the wrong conclusion at least concerning this church)*

¹¹ In *De ceremoniis* Constantine Porphyrogenitus described how an imperial dignitary received communion in the gallery of the chapel, to which the patriarch climbed up a winding staircase for this purpose. My attention was turned to this by M. Lončar, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar, whom I take this occasion to thank. (See J.P. MIGNÉ, *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 112, col. 281 A and B). I. Nikolajević also treats this subject, drawing a parallel between the Holy Trinity in Zadar, St Mark's in Venice, and applying the data to the church of the Holy Saviour in Žiža (See, I. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, *Egzonarteks Doma Spasovog u Žiži, Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200. godine* /Exonarthex of the Holy Saviour in Žiža, Studenica and Byzantine Art in About 1200/, Belgrade 1988, p. 453). In the west this function was taken over by the so-called Doppelkapelle, rooted in the example of the palatine chapel in Aachen. St Quirin's church adjoining Krk cathedral was made on this model (See, M. JURKOVIĆ, "Doppelkapelle' Sv. Kvirina u Krku, palatinska kapela dvostruke funkcije" /The Doppelkapelle of St Quirin's in Krk, a Palatine Chapel of Double Function/, *PPUD* 31, Split 1991, p. 223)

¹² I. PETRICIOLI, "Grede s predromaničkim ukrasom iz crkve Sv. Donata u Zadru" (Beams with pre-Romanesque Decorations in St Donatus' Church in Zadar), *Peristil*, vol. 14-15, Zagreb 1971-1972, p. 47.

¹³ D. SRDOČ - B. OBELIĆ - A. SLIEPČEVIĆ, "Precise Radiocarbon Dating of Wooden Beams from St. Donatus' Church in Zadar", *Pact*, vol. 8, Strasbourg 1983, p. 325.

¹⁴ P. VEŽIĆ, "Rotunda...", *op.cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁵ P. VEŽIĆ, "Ranosrednjovjekovna cisterna u episkopalnom kompleksu u Zadru" (Early-medieval Cistern in the Episcopal Complex in Zadar), *Diadora*, vol. 9, Zadar 1980, p. 517. (The simple construction of the arches resting on the architrave and columns in the middle of the room makes the cistern reminiscent of the construction of the crypt in Auxerre. See: J. HUBERT - J. PORCHER - W.P. VOLBACH, *L'Empire carolingien*, Paris 1968, p. 62).

¹⁶ R. EITELBERGER, "Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens in Arbe, Zara, Trau, Spalato und Ragusa", *Jarbuch der K. K. Zentral-Commission*, vol. 5, Vienna, 1861, p. 166.

¹⁷ P. VEŽIĆ, "Prezbiterij katedrale u Zadru" (Presbytery of Zadar Cathedral), *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, Split 1990.

¹⁸ See article by I. Petricioli in this collection.

¹⁹ P. VEŽIĆ, "Rotunda...", *op. cit.*, p. 37, ill. 55.

²⁰ I. PETRICIOLI, "Ulomci ranosrednjovjekovnog ambona zadarske katedrale" (Fragments of the Early-medieval Ambo of Zadar Cathedral), *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, vol. 12-13 (In memory of Milan Prelog), Zagreb 1989, p. 25.

²¹ M. RATILI, "Chiesa di Santa Sofia a Benevento", *I Longobardi*, Milan 1990, p. 137. ...

Table 1. Episcopal complex - A) view from the south B) view from the east of the rotunda of the Holy Trinity



Table 2. Rotunda of the Holy Trinity - ground level A) View of the sanctuary B) Columns, arches and vault in front of the sanctuary

Table 3. Rotunda of the Holy Trinity - gallery A) View of the sanctuary B) Piers and arches

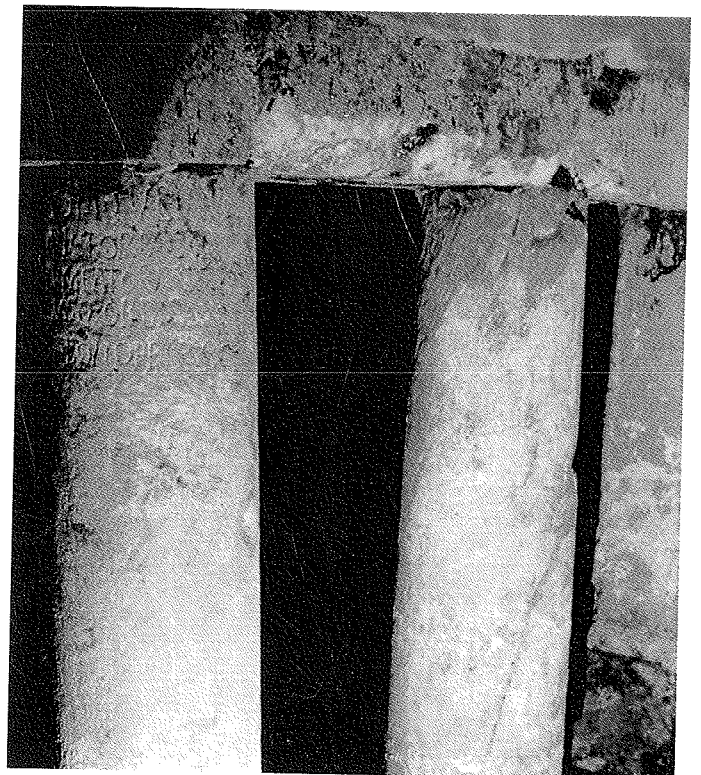
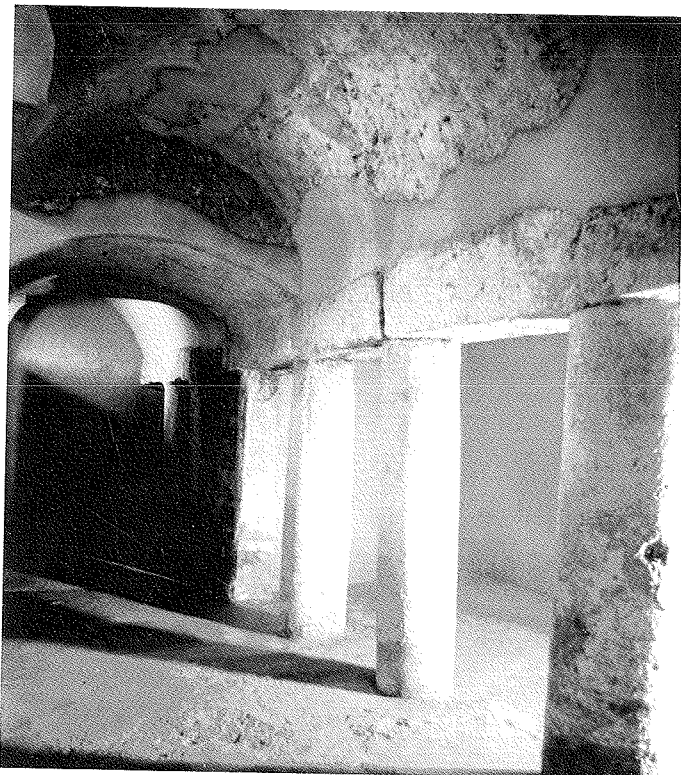
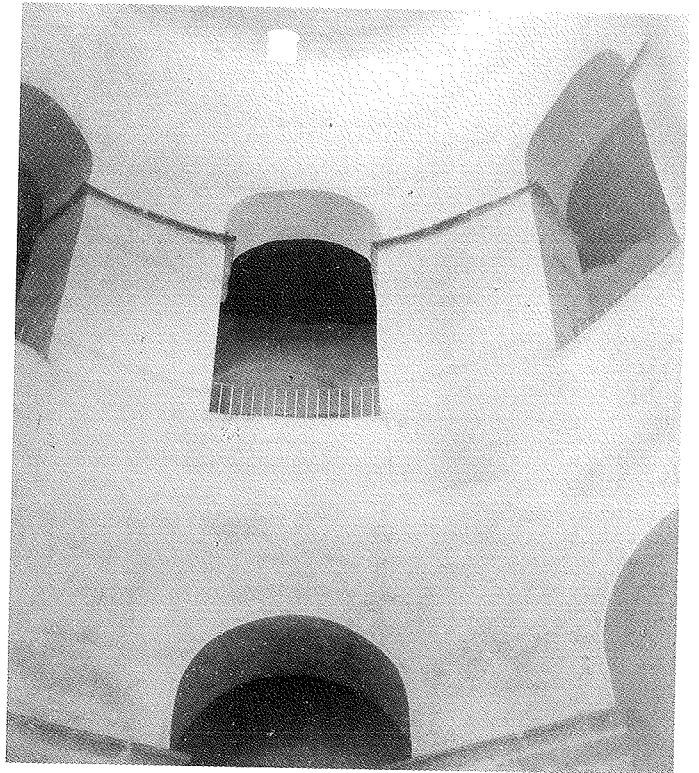
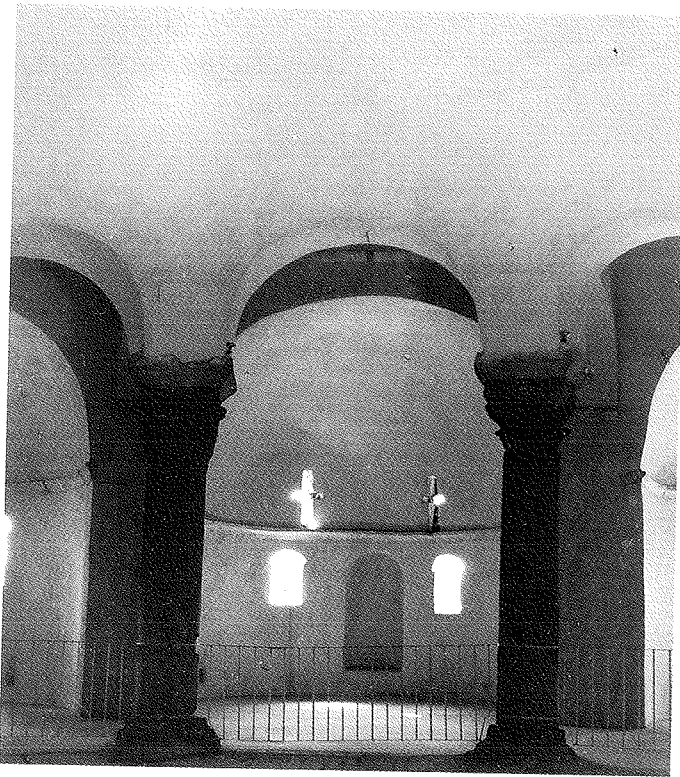


Table 4. Early-medieval cistern A) View of the columns and architraves B) Structural details

²² P. VERZONE, *Od Teodorika do Karla Velikog* (From Theodoric to Charlemagne), *Novi Sad* 1973, p. 202.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 137

²⁴ E. ARSLAN, "Remarques sur l'architecture lombarde du 7. siècle", *Cahiers archeologiques*, vol. 7, Paris 1956, p. 134.

²⁵ T.K. KAMPF, "Trier Domgrabungen", *Neue Ausgrabungen in Deutschland*, Berlin 1958, p. 368

²⁶ P. VEŽIĆ, "Prezbiterij...", *op.cit.*, pp. 56, 62.

²⁷ I. PETRICIOLI, "Ranosrednjovjekovni natpisi iz Zadra" (Early-Medieval Inscriptions in Zadar), *Diadora*, vol. 2, Zadar 1960-1961, p. 252. (The article brings all the three inscriptions on the reliquary: The first: *IN NOMINE S(AN)C(T)E TRINITATIS HIC REQUIESCIT CORPVS BEATE S(SN)C(T)E ANASTASIA + DE DONIS D(E)I ET S(AN)C(T)E ANASTASIE DONATVS PECCATVR EPISCOPVS FECIT D(E)O GRATIAS +*, the second: *IN NOMINE S(AN)C(T)E TRINITATIS HIC REQUIESCIT CORPVS BEATE S(AN)C(T)E ANASTASIE*; and the third: *DE DONIS D(E)I DONATVS PECCATVR EPISCOPVS FECIT*.)

²⁸ I. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, "Martyr Anastasia' u Fuldi" (Martyr Anastasia in Fulda), *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta*, vol. 14-1, Belgrade 1979, p. 46.

²⁹ N. KLAJČ - I. PETRICIOLI, "Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409." (Zadar in the Middle Ages up to 1409), *Prošlost Zadra*, vol. 2, Zadar 1976, p. 107.

³⁰ P. VEŽIĆ, "Prezbiterij...", *op.cit.*, p. 55.

³¹ N. KLAJČ - I. PETRICIOLI, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

³² I. GOLDSTEIN, *Bizant na Jadranu* (Byzantium on the Adriatic), Zagreb 1992, p. 161.

³³ N. KLAJČ - I. PETRICIOLI, *op.cit.*, p. 77.

³⁴ M. GRGIĆ, "Kalendar zadarske stolne crkve iz 15. st." (Fifteenth-Century Calendar of Zadar Cathedral), *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, vol. 20, Zadar 1973, p. 158, note 138.

³⁵ The church began to be called St Donatus in the fifteenth century, but the old name was retained parallel to the new one for a long time. In the eighteenth century the building was extensively reconstructed. At that time the south annex was turned into a residential area that was later, unfortunately, pulled down. This happened in 1930. Thus the rotunda is a kind of torso today. (See, I. PETRICIOLI, "Izoliranje crkve Sv Donata u Zadru 1930-31" / Isolating St Donatus' Church in Zadar 1930-31/, *Diadora*, vol. 9, Zadar 1980, p. 493)

³⁶ P. VEŽIĆ, "O centralnim gradjevinama Zadra i Dalmacije u ranom srednjem vijeku" (On Centrally Planned Buildings in Zadar and Dalmatia in the Early Middle Ages), *Diadora*, vol. 13, Zadar 1991, p. 339.

RANOSREDNJEVJEKOVNI SLOJ EPISKOPALNOG KOMPLEKSA U ZADRU

SAŽETAK

Na mjestu ranijeg nukleusa kršćanskog sklopa u Zadru, tokom V st. izrastao je razvijeni episkopalni kompleks s prostranom bazilikom i njezinim aneksima te episkopijem i pratećim prostorima. Za razliku od mnogih koji su podizani podalje od najstrožih centara rimskih gradova na Jadranu, ovaj je nastao gotovo u samom epicentru *Iadera*, na rubu njegova *Foruma*. U ranom srednjem vijeku tu je podignut novi kulturni sloj, interpoliran u staru cjelinu kao nadopuna njezinim funkcijama i svjedočanstvo novih kulturnohistorijskih odnosa u ovom gradu na izmaku antike.

Rotonda Sv. Trojstva svakako je najznačajnija građevina ovog kompleksa, ujedno i izraziti primjer preromaničke arhitekture, jedan od onih koji stoje u vrhu ranosrednjovjekovne Evrope. Manje je poznato da je ta zgrada nastala izgradnjom jednog prostora iz dva koncepta građenja. Po prvoj ideji podignuta je kao slobodno stojeća rotunda s kružnom jezgrom i prstenastim ophodom, deambulatorijem, te tri radijalno postavljene apside grupirane na istočnoj strani. Promjena je uslijedila po drugom konceptu, izgradnjom kapele s galerijom, kao kompleksne rotunde. Bila je toliko radikalna i opsežna da danas nije moguće sa sigurnošću odgovoriti na pitanje da li je prvotna zamisao ikada u cijelosti bila otjelovljena. Ne postoje materijalno sačuvani ostaci koji bi mogli potvrditi ili negirati takvu mogućnost. Tek je izvjesno da relativno brzo jedan za drugim slijedi novi plan građenja s kojim se izvorna kapela našla obgrljena sa svih strana prigradenim dijelovima nove cjeline, kao jezgra u središtu znatno složenije prostorne strukture.

Diskriminantu između prvog i drugog sloja ove građevine, plohu na razini koje je moguće izdvojiti slobodno stojeću rotundu od rotunde kao sklopa (odnosno jedan koncept građenja ove kapele od drugoga) čini konstrukcija poda njezine galerije, tj. drveni grednjak u tom podu. On se sastoji od greda

koje su ovamo dospjele kao spoliji, u sekundarnoj namjeni. Po izvornoj funkciji pak, to su krovni rogovi, namijenjeni zacijelo prvotnoj rotondi. Njihov je prednji dio ukrašen rovašenim biljnim i geometrijskim ornamentima, izrađenima očito radi ukrašavanja podgleda strehe za koju su rezbareni. Stilaska analiza tih ornamentata ukazuje na drugu pol. VIII st., kao vrijeme njihova nastanka; jednako kao i dendrokronološka analiza drva koja govori o 750.-toj godini s tolerancijom od plus i minus 20 godina, kao vremenu sječe stabala od kojih su grede istesane. Važno je napomenuti da one nisu ovamo dospjele nekakvim naknadnim ugrađivanjem grednjaka u već postojeće zidove nego u trenutku kada zida, odnosno galerije nad grednjakom još nema. Ona je podignuta tek nakon što su ove grede raspoređene u slobodnom prostoru. S njom je uslijedila izgradnja i svih prigradenih prostora uokolo izvorne rotunde. Oni su nastali po istom projektu i u funkcionalnoj povezanosti s galerijom. U masi njihova zida "utopljen" je plašt prvotne arhitekture ove građevine.

Na zapadnoj strani kapele, zapravo njezinog narteksa, prislonjeno je istočno krilo episkopija. Ono je nastalo istovremeno s preuređenjem rotunde, kao sastavni dio nove koncepcije u izgradnji i namjeni ovog dijela episkopalnog kompleksa u ranom srednjem vijeku. Neposredno ispred kapele, u episkopiju su postavljena vrata koja vode u rotundu. Druga veza među njima još je izravnija, a uspostavljena je na razini kata episkopija gdje vrata vode na polukat kapele, tj. na podest između dva kraka njezina stubišta. Na taj način rotonda se našla sraštena s biskupovom palačom, tijesno povezana sa specifičnim liturgijskim i ceremonijalnim funkcijama ovog hrama uz katedralu, zbile su se također značajne promjene u strukturi ove prostorne cjeline. Na mjestu ranijeg diakonikona, u

perimetru njegovih zidova, sada je izgrađena cisterna. Nastala je interpoliranjem novih konstrukcija u starom prostoru. Dva polukružna svoda natkrivaju građevinu. Položena su uzdužno na bočne zidove i kolonadu stupova s arhitravima. Pod i zidne stijene obloženi su hidrofobnom žbukom. Cisterna je relativno dobro sačuvana, a u općem nasljeđu predstavlja rijetko svjedočanstvo o utilitarnim zgradama i sadržajima u sklopu episkopija u ranom srednjem vijeku.

Ugrađivanjem nove građevine u prostor ranijeg diakonikona ukazala se potreba za izgradnjom novih *pastorija*, sada prigradenih uz bokove apside katedrale. *Protezis* na sjevernoj strani nažalost nije sačuvan već je ostao zabilježen crtežom, u tlocrtu katedrale iz prošlog stoljeća. No, *diakonikon* na južnom boku čuva se i danas. Riječ je o malenom pačetvorinastom prostoru između apside katedrale i sakristije do nje. Dva traveja u njemu prekrivaju polukružni svod ojačan pojasnicom, a trećega natkriva polukalota oslonjena u dnu na ugaone trompe. Čini se da je izgradnja ovih *pastorija* bila u uskoj vezi s opsežnim preuređenjem prezbiterija katedrale u ranosrednjovjekovnom razdoblju. Tragovi supstrukcija sačuvani u zidu današnje krippte ukazuju na neku stariju kriptu ili konfesiju ispod svetišta; a ulomci crkvenog namještaja, ostaci kamenih pluteja, pilastara, greda, zabata i ambona, govore o preromaničkom svetištu opremljenom bogatom oltarnom pregradom i ostalim dijelovima liturgijskog namještaja.

Stilske osobine tog inventara ukazuju na dvije rane faze preromaničke umjetnosti u Zadru. Prvom razdoblju koga valja

datirati u drugu polovicu VIII st., pripadaju dijelovi ambona sa simbolima evanđelista i ulomci pluteja sa životinjskim likovima i konjanikom; ali i još neki fragmenti sa stilskim odlikama tog ranog razdoblja, otkriveni za nedavnih istraživanja i konzervatorskih zahvata u sklopu katedrale. Usto, ovoj skupini valja pridružiti i dijelove drvene i kamene plastike s rotonde Sv. Trojstva. Osobito su važne drvene i kamene grede koje međusobno povezuju isti ili vrlo slični ukrasni ornamenti, posebno povijača s pticama. Neke među ovim umjetninama prisno nas vežu uz akvilejski kulturni krug VIII st. Na doticaje s franačkom umjetnošću upućuje i arhitektonska kompozicija prvotne rotonde u ovom kompleksu. O drugoj fazi i utjecajima iz bizantskog podneblja govori nekoliko komponenata ovog sklopa. Npr. novi hagiografski sloj s kultom *Sv. Anastazije* i kultom triju svetih sestara, *Irene, Kionie i Agape*. Zatim, novi sloj preromaničke kamene plastike, s bizantinizirajućim elementima u sebi, koga valja vezivati uz kamene grede s natpisima biskupa Donata. Tu se ponavlja formula: *DO-NATVUS PECCATVR EPISCOPVS FECIT*, kao i na mramornom relikvijariju s pepelom *Sv. Anastazije*, što je biskup Donat donio u Zadar na povratku iz Carigrada, početkom IX st. Preuređenje prezbiterija u katedrali možda je povezano s tim prilikama i vremenom u kome jača moć državne i crkvene vlasti Bizanta na Jadranu. U tom kontekstu valja promatrati i promjenu koncepta u izgradnji rotonde Sv. Trojstva, koja preuređenjem po modelu rezidencijalne kapele s galerijom stječe mogućnost za specifične liturgijske ceremonije te vlasti u ovom gradu.

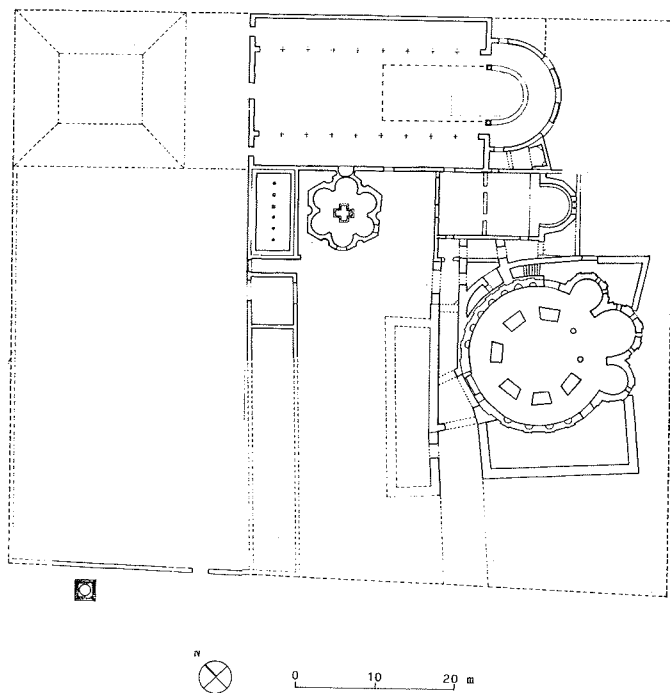


Fig. 10. Episcopal complex, 9th c.